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Rhotacism in the
Old Italian Languages.

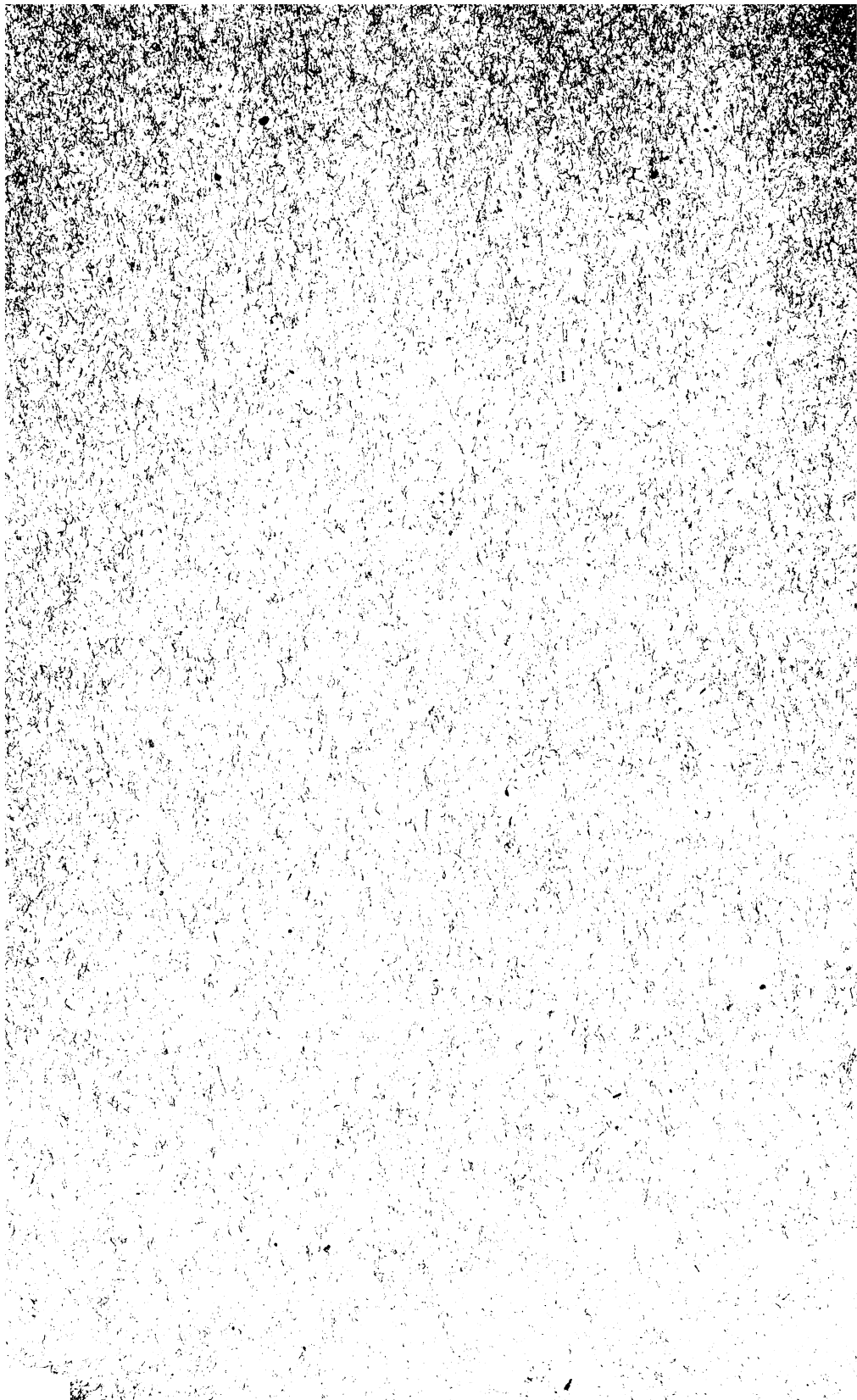
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University of Michigan

BEQUEATHED BY
George Allison Hench
PROFESSOR OF
Germanic Languages and Literatures
IN THE
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RHOTACISM

IN THE OLD

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ITALIAN LANGUAGES, AND THE EXCEPTIONS.

A DISSERTATION

FOR THE

ACQUISITION OF THE DEGREE

OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

FROM THE

UNIVERSITY OF LEIPZIG.

BY

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EDWARD L. WALTER
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One of the most certain and frequent results of the unconscious attempt to lighten difficulties of pronunciation, which plays so important a part in the history of the Indo-European languages, is rhotacism, or the change of *s* to *r*. The conditions under which this change takes place are different in the different languages, and consequently the extent to which they are affected by it, differs as well. I shall endeavor in the following dissertation to examine the character and extent of this change, so far as concerns the old Italian languages, to consider the conditions under which it occurs, and to discuss the exceptions to its operation.

A. Latin.

In no one of the Indo-European languages has rhotacism been so wide-reaching in its effects as in this one of the Italian group. Next to the change of diphthongs to simple vowels, no one influence was so powerful in giving to the Latin language the shape in which Cicero and Caesar used it, and the abundant remains of the literature furnish us with a comparatively copious material, from which to draw our conclusions respecting the law of its occurrence.

Rhotacism takes place in Latin, (1) regularly, when a single *s* is brought by inflection or word-formation to stand between

two vowels; (2) in the nominative singular of most masculine substantives of two syllables with stems in *s* and of some neuter; (3) before nasals and voiced consonants in a few cases; (4) by assimilation in roots where the combination *rs* occurs.

I. Between two vowels.

This is the best-known and most frequent in its occurrence of all the cases in which rhotacism appears. Following is a list of words where it is certain or highly probable that it has taken place. The list could without doubt be increased, if examples of the earliest Latin were more numerous. Cf. Corssen, *Aussprache*, I², 229 sqq.

a. s belongs to the root.

<i>ara</i>	cf. <i>asa</i> . Ter. Scaurus, 2252 P. Osk. <i>aasa</i> , Umb. <i>asa</i> , Volsc. <i>asif</i> . Sab. <i>asum</i> .
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<i>arena</i>	<i>asena</i> . Varro. L. L. 7. 27. <i>fasena</i> . Velius Longus. 2230 P.
<i>Aurelius</i>	<i>Auselius</i> . Festus p. 23.
<i>aurora</i>	Sk. <i>ushāsā</i> .

<i>aurum</i>	
<i>Aurunci</i>	
<i>auris</i>	<i>auscullo</i> . vid. Curtius. Gr. Etym. n. 619.

<i>ero, eris</i> etc.	<i>eso</i> . Varro l. l. Sk. <i>asmi</i> .
<i>eram, eras</i> etc.	Gr. <i>ἔσσι</i> .

Eso, quoted by Varro from the *Carmen Saliare*, is undoubtedly genuine, and probably other forms could also have been brought forward from the older monuments of the language; *esum*, on the other hand, also found in Varro, L. L. IX, 100, is an inference only, and in this case an incorrect one. The *e*

must have been dropped before the *u* was developed into a full vowel; otherwise we should have instead of *sum*, **erum* of which there is absolutely no trace.

erim *is-te*, Osk. *eizo*, Umb. *eru*.

Festus p. 162.

feriae *fesiae*. Paul. Epit. p. 86. *festus*.

Furius *Fusius*. Quint. I. 4. 13. Pomponius, Digest. 1. 2. 2. § 36.

gero *gestus*.

haereo *haesus*.

haurire *haustus*.

Lares *lasibus*. Paul. Epit. p. 264.

Varro L. L. 6. 1.

maereo *maestus*.

muris *mus*.

narcis Sk. *nāsā*. O-H-G. *nasa*.

nefarius *nefas*.

oris *os*.

quaero *quaeso*.

queror *questus*.

ruris *rus*.

sero *satus*.

The present is reduplicated with rhotacism from the root *sa*.

soror Sk. *svasar*.

speres *spes*.

sperare

uro *ustus*.

virus Sk. *visham*. Zd. *visha*

Corss. Auss. I^a. 533. Curt

Gr. Etym. n. 591.

b. s belongs to the stem.

aceris cf. *acus*

<i>aeris</i>	<i>aes.</i> Sk. <i>ajas.</i> Umb. <i>ahes-</i> <i>nes.</i>
<i>arboris</i>	<i>arbos</i> and <i>arbosem.</i> Paul. Epit. p. 15.
<i>angoris</i>	<i>angustus.</i>
<i>auguris</i>	<i>augustus.</i>
<i>Cereris</i>	<i>Ceres.</i>
<i>cineris</i>	<i>cinis.</i>
<i>clamoris</i>	<i>clamos.</i> Quint. I, 4, 13.
<i>coloris</i>	<i>colos.</i> Plaut. Mil. 1179.
<i>corporis</i>	<i>corpus.</i>
<i>crepera</i>	<i>crepusculum.</i>
<i>cruris</i>	<i>crus.</i>
<i>cucumeris</i>	<i>cucumis.</i>
<i>curiones</i>	<i>cusianes.</i> Varro L. L. 7. 26. Corss. Auss. 1 ² . 353. (?)
<i>decoris</i>	<i>decus.</i>
<i>Etruria</i>	<i>Etruscus.</i>
<i>facinoris</i>	<i>facinus.</i>
<i>Falerii</i>	<i>Falisci.</i>
<i>favoris</i>	<i>faustus.</i>
<i>femoris.</i>	<i>femus.</i> App. Met. 8,31.

Appuleius is indeed a late writer, but he was familiar with the earliest Latin, and fond of using archaic forms, and there is no reason to doubt the genuineness of this form, which is vouched for by trustworthy manuscripts. vid. Neue Formenlehre. I. 579.

<i>fenoris</i>	<i>fenus.</i>
<i>floris</i>	<i>flos.</i> Osk. <i>Fluusai.</i>
<i>foederis</i>	<i>foedus.</i>
<i>frigoris</i>	<i>frigus.</i>
<i>funeris</i>	<i>funus.</i>

generis
gliris

glomeris
gloria

gloris
heri
honoris

injuria
janitoris

juris
laboris

lateris
lepōris

lepōris
litoris

majoribus
maris

melioribus
moribus

muneris
nemoris

numerus
Numerius

odoris
oleris

oneris
operis

Papirius
pectoris

genus.

glis, *glisis*, restored by an almost certain conjecture in Naevius. Com. 65. ed. Ribbeck.

glomus.

Sk. *gravasya*. vid. Corss.
Auss. I². 360.

glos.

hesternus.

honos.

jus.

janitos. Varro L. L. 7. 27. (?)

jus.

labos.

latus.

lepos.

lepus.

litus.

maiosibus. Paul. Ep. p. 264.

mas.

meliosibus. Paul. Ep. l. l.

mos.

munus.

nemus.

Osk. *Niumsius.*

odos. Plaut. Capt. 815.

olus, helusa, Paul. Ep. p. 100.

onus.

opus. Osk. *upsannam.*

Papisius. Cic. ad Fam. 9, 21. 2

pectus.

pecoris
penoris
pignoris
plurimus
pluris
ponderis
puberes
pulveris
puris
rauderis
roboris

roris
rudoris
rumoris
sceleris
sideris
spirare

Spurius
stercoris
telluris
temporis
tergoris
ulceris
umerus

Valerius
vaporis
velleris
Veneris
veteris

pecus.
penus.
pignus, pignosa. Fest. p. 213.
plusima. Varro L. L. 7, 26.
plus.
pondus.
pubes.
pulvis.
pus.
raudus.
robustus, robosem, Paul. Ep.

p. 15.
ros.
rudus.
rumusculus.
scelus.
sidus.
pusula. vid. Curt. Gr. Etym.
n. 652.

Σποούσιον. Dion. H. III. 34.
stercus.
tellus.
tempus.
tergus.
ulcus.
Sk. *asa-s*, Goth. *amsa.* Gr.
ἀμέσω. Curt. Gr. Etym. n. 487.
Valesius. Paul. Ep. p. 23.
vapos. Lucr. VI, 953.
vellus.
Venus, venustas.
vetus.

<i>Veturius</i>	<i>Vetusius</i> . Liv. III. 8.
<i>vires</i>	<i>vis</i> .
<i>visceris</i>	<i>viscus</i> .
<i>vomeris</i>	<i>vomis</i> . Verg. Georg. I. 162.
<i>vulneris</i>	<i>vulnus</i> .

c. In the inflections of nouns.

The ending of the genitive plural of *a* and *o* stems, *rum*, stands for original *sām*. Compare the genitive plural of the Sanskrit demonstrative pronoun *teshām* with Lat. *is-torum* Gothic *thizo*. So *pennarum* for **pennasam*, *bonorum* for **bonosom* etc.

d In the inflections of voice.

The formation of the passive is most simply explained by the addition of the reflexive pronoun *se* to the active. Rhotacism took place at a very early period, after which the final *e* was dropped, and simple *r* remained in the popular consciousness as the passive sign. In spite of the hesitation occasioned by the presence of the same passive sign in Oscan and Keltic, where rhotacism has not as yet been proven in other cases, this theory deserves the preference before any other as yet brought forward, because of its simplicity and the completeness of the explanation which it furnishes. The *s* of the Oscan genitive ending shows that this dialect shares in the tendency to alter the sound of *s* between two vowels which was the chief cause of rhotacism in Latin, and the manifold changes of *s* in Keltic under similar circumstances show the same thing. It is quite conceivable that a tendency which at a very early period affected several different languages alike, may have been developed differently in two of them, and in a third have been developed scarcely at all. In this way is the fact satisfactorily explained that the only trace of rhotacism in Keltic is the passive sign in question, and on the other hand that the disappearance of

s between two vowels, very frequent in Keltic, is also not without example in Latin. Vid. Corss. Beitr. p. 465.

So <i>amor</i>	for * <i>amose</i> .
<i>regor</i>	* <i>regose</i> .
<i>darier</i>	* <i>dasiese</i> . Vid. Corrs. A u s s.
	II. 478.
<i>agier</i>	* <i>agiese</i> .

e. In the formation of verbal substantives.

(1). The infinitive active was originally the dative of a substantive, cf. Sk. *vakshe*, *maishe* etc. So *dare* for **dase*, *amare* for **amase* etc.

(2). The infinitive passive was formed in the same way with the addition of a nominal suffix, which is still to be found in the *ī*; the passive sign was in the later language regularly dropped. So *dari* for *dasi*, Paul. Ep. p. 68, *amari* for **amasi* etc. Vid. Corss. I. 1.

f. In the personal endings of Verbs.

As in the substantive verb the *s* of the root has suffered rhotacism, so in the personal endings of verbs where this root is used. So in the pluperfect *-eram*, *-eras* etc., future-perfect *-ero*, *-eris* etc., perfect subjunctive *-erim*, *-eris* etc., imperfect subjunctive, *-arem*, *ērem*, *ērem*, *irem* etc., perfect indicative 3rd plural *-runt*. Corssen, Aussp. I², 230, explains the form *coemise* as for *coemerunt*; if this is correct, we have one example where the *s* of the ending still remains; but whether correct or not, there can scarcely be any other explanation of this ending *runt*, except that it is for *sunt*, earlier *esont*.

Paulus Epit. p. 121, gives the form *loebesum* as archaic for *liberum*, and in the same sentence *loebertatem* for *liber-*

tatem. The difficulty in reconciling the *s* and *r* was perceived by Müller. If *loebesum* is correct, **loebestatem* or at best **loebesitatem* would be the only regular form; for that the words belong to two different periods of the language, in one of which rhotacism had already taken place and in the other not, is hardly possible, and rhotacism before *t* is without example. The Oscan word *lúvfreis* increases the difficulty, for only on the strongest possible evidence can we accept rhotacism there. It seems clear to me therefore that the *s* is due to a mistake of the transcriber, or possibly even of Paulus himself, who may have confused the adjective with the name of the Sabine deity *Loebasius* or *Lebasius*. The corresponding part of Festus is lost. That the word was brought forward to illustrate chiefly the ancient diphthong, may be inferred from the Greek illustrations he gives, *λοιβήν* and *λειβειν*. Corss. Beitr. p. 201. Müller has restored *loebeso* in Varro L. L. VI, 2 for *libero* of the manuscripts, which must be false. But it is as easy a conjecture to write *loebero*, and nearer to the manuscript reading, and Varro's object, to bring examples of words to which custom had given a different shape, would be just as well attained. *Lasibus* is the next example he gives, in which rhotacism would receive its illustration.

II. In the nominative singular of masculine substantives
with stems in *s*, and in neuters.

<i>arbor</i>	cf. <i>arbos, arbustum.</i>
<i>clamor</i>	<i>clamos</i> , Quint. I. 4, 13.
<i>color</i>	<i>colos.</i>
<i>honor</i>	<i>honos, honestus.</i>
<i>janitor.</i>	<i>janitos.</i> Varro L. L. 7, 27.
	Cross. Aussp. I ² . 213. (?)

<i>labor</i>	<i>labos.</i>
<i>odor</i>	<i>odos.</i>
<i>pavor</i>	<i>pavos.</i> Naev. Trag. 45. Ed. Ribbeck.
<i>timor</i>	<i>timos.</i> Naev. l. l.
<i>vapor</i>	<i>vapos.</i> Quint. l. l.

The comparative ending *ior* in the nominative masculine singular has arisen by the change of final *s* to *r*. The original form of the suffix was *jans*.

<i>melior</i>	cf. <i>melios.</i> Varro. L. L. 7, 26.
<i>major</i>	<i>magis.</i>
Further in <i>augur</i>	<i>augustus.</i>
<i>angor</i>	<i>angustus.</i>
<i>fulgur</i>	<i>fulgus.</i> Paul. Ep. p. 92.
<i>robur</i>	<i>robis.</i> Paul. Ep. p. 264.
<i>femur</i>	<i>femus.</i>
<i>rumor</i>	<i>rumusculus.</i>
So also in <i>ciner</i>	<i>cinis.</i>
<i>cucumer</i>	<i>cucumis.</i>
<i>pulver</i>	<i>pulvis.</i>
<i>vomer</i>	<i>vomis.</i>

Vid. Neue Formenlehre. I. 176.

<i>veter</i>	<i>vetus.</i>
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Varro. L. L. VI. 2.

<i>jecur</i>	<i>jecusculum.</i>
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Since Sk. *jakrt* and Gr. *ἥπαρ* both show an *r* where it can hardly be supposed that an *s* originally stood, it may appear doubtful whether the diminutive alone, which is not attested before Cicero and could have been formed after the false analogy of *arbusculum*, *munusculum*, would justify us in assuming that an *s* was once found in the nominative. But the formation of the Sanskrit and Greek words is certainly

different from that of the Latin, as is shown by the *t* occurring in both the other languages, but of which no trace is to be found in Latin; further by the forms *jocinus*, *jocinoris*, (Charis. I. p. 47. K.), which show the Indo-European suffix *as* unmistakeably. Since now the suffix *as* is so frequent in Latin, and in at least three cases, *robur*, *femur*, *fulgur*, has taken the form *ur* in the nominative singular of a neuter noun, we are justified in assuming that this was the case with *jecur* and that the diminutive was correctly formed.

Simitur. This form is found only once in an inscription of the Augustan period in the same sense as the Plautian word *simitu*, and the *r* is explained by Corssen as the result of rhotacism, (Beitr. p. 400) while *simitu* was formed by dropping the *s* before rhotacism had taken place. But as Bugge remarks (Curt. Stud. IV. 350), if *simitu* is to be derived from the adverb *simitus*, the length of the *u* is not easily explained. The Plautian word is rather the ablative of a substantive **simitus*, formed from the denominative verb **simire*, from the stem *simo-*, old Latin *semo-*. The form with *r*, on the other hand, if correctly written, contains the same suffix as *igitur*, the origin of which is not clear. It is not necessary to assume that it originally ended in *s*; except in the doubtful case of *quirquir*, there is no instance in Latin of final *s* suffering rhotacism, when not induced by analogy. Instead of the Oscan passive forms proving that final *s* sometimes suffers rhotacism, they furnish one certain instance, if the ordinary explanation of the passive be accepted, of rhotacism between two vowels in Oscan. The *e* must have remained in the passive until rhotacism had taken place, as is shown by the comparatively late appearance of final *r* for final *s* in Latin and Umbrian. Still less do Osk. *amfr* Umb. *ambr*, *ampr* prove rho-

tacism of final *s* in Latin. Even if *amfr* be not a formation like *super* (Mömmesen. U. D. p. 249), which seems to me more probable, the *r* even then may be due to rhotacism between two vowels; neither the Oscan nor the Umbrian word occurs except in composition, with the root *i*, "to go", and the most natural explanation, if it is a parallel formation with *ἀμφίς*, is that after rhotacism the vowel before the *r* was dropped. Vowels have been dropped in Oscan and Umbrian in other cases between labial *s* and *r*. Vid. Corss. Auss. II.² 535. Beit. 354.

Varro in some old formulas of the augurs read *quirquir* for *quisquis*, L. L. 7. 8. Johannes Schmidt, Zt. XIX, 196, explains the *r* as arisen from rhotacism of *s* brought between two vowels by the addition of the enclitic *i*. Cf. Gr. *οὔτοσι*, Goth. *thizei*; so *quir* for **quisi*. Rhotacism would in this case have taken place as in *dirimo* for **disemo*, after which the final vowel fell away as in *amor* for **amore* from **amose*. This explanation is in perfect accordance with the Latin phonetic laws and the Umbrian *pisi* gives a perfect analogy in meaning, and the hesitation occasioned by the absence of any other trace of this enclitic particle in Latin, is more than counterbalanced by the difficulty in believing that contrary to all analogy in Latin and with no such external reason as the oblique cases of *veter* furnish, rhotacism of final *s* should have taken place in priestly formulas which contain several archaic forms, and in which *arbo*s has not yet become *arbor*.

III. Before nasals and voiced consonants.

(1). Before *m*.

carmen

cf. Sk. *casman*

Carmentis

Casmena. Varro L. L.

Carmena.

VII. 26.

(2). Before *n*

<i>diurnus</i>	<i>dius</i>
<i>hodiernus</i>	<i>dies. Diespiter.</i> Vid. Corss. Aussp. I ² . 232.
<i>verna</i>	Sk. <i>vas</i> , "to dwell". <i>Vesta</i> . Curt. <i>Gr. Et.</i> n. 206.
<i>veternus</i>	<i>vetus</i>

That rhotacism took place after the addition of the suffices and not before, is clear when we compare other derivatives in which the derivative suffix begins with a sharp consonant, *Diespiter*, *vetustus*, the latter of which words is at least as old as *veternus*. There are besides no forms from the stem of *dies* in which rhotacism has taken place to suggest the change in the nominative as is the case with *veter* for *vetus*. That a monosyllabic stem should suffer rhotacism, that *vas* should have become **var* or **ver*, is also contrary to all analogy. cf. *mus*, *ros pus* etc. Finally the form *Casmena* is one incontestible example of rhotacism occurring through the influence of a nasal, which we may therefore accept for the cases given above.

(3). Before *v*.

<i>Larva</i>	cf. <i>Lases</i> .
<i>Minerva</i>	Sk. <i>manas</i> "spirit," "mind".

Grassmann, Zt. XVI, 113, considers the *r* here the result of rhotacism between two vowels, that **Lasva*, through vocalization of the *v* became **Lasua*, then through rhotacism *Larua*, finally through hardening of the *u* to *v*, *Larva*; similarly with *Minerva*. But *v* usually remains unchanged in Latin after *s*; there is indeed no clear instance of its vocalization except in *suus*, which Plautus constantly measures in one syllable and in a few words evidently peculiar to poetry, *sūadeo*, *sūetus*, etc.; in *suavis*, *consuetus*, *suasum* it remains generally a consonant. The vocalization of the *v* therefore which we find in

Larua, the oldest attested form in Latin (Ritschl, *Opusc.* II. p. 599), can well have taken place after rhotacism; the near relationship of *v* to *u* renders it not at all improbable that it should sometimes have the same influence on a preceding consonant as *u* would have; *carmen* proves that rhotacism before a voiced consonant has actually taken place in Latin, and there is no trace of a form like **Menerua* to justify us in inferring a form **Menesua*.

IV. In roots, by assimilation. Vid. Corss. *Beit.* p. 401.

<i>currus</i>	Sk. <i>karsh</i> , "to draw".
<i>errare</i>	Goth. <i>airzeis</i> .
<i>far</i> for <i>farr</i> from	Umb. <i>farsio</i> .
<i>fars</i>	
<i>ferrum</i>	Norse u. Eng. <i>brass</i> .
<i>horre</i>	Sk. <i>harsh</i> , "to shudder".
<i>porro</i>	Gr. <i>πόρρω</i>
<i>porrum</i>	<i>πόρρον</i> .

It is unlikely that the last two words are borrowed from the Greek, for in the later history of the language *rs* was assimilated to *ss* not to *rr*. Assimilation to *rr* has at all events taken place, and if these words are borrowed, it may have been due to the different pronunciation of the Greek *r*, of which there are elsewhere traces (Curt. *Gr. Etym.* p. 446), that the usual later course of assimilation was reversed.

<i>terra, torrere</i>	Sk. <i>tarsh</i> , "to thirst". Gr. <i>τέρσσομαι</i> .
<i>terrere</i>	Sk. <i>tras</i> , "to tremble".
<i>turris</i>	Gr. <i>τύρσις</i> .
<i>verres</i>	Sk. <i>varsh</i> , "to fill".
<i>verrere</i>	Sk. <i>karsh</i> "to draw".

In the superlatives,

<i>acerrimus,</i>	<i>maturrimus,</i>
<i>veterrimus,</i>	<i>minerrimus</i> etc.,

it seems certain that the second *r* is due to assimilation, whatever the origin of the suffix. The change of *s* to *r* by assimilation in the case of an *s* arisen by assibilation, is easier to accept than ordinary rhotacism. The only instance of rhotacism of such an *s* is in the second singular of the passive, and there, as the Sanskrit, Zend and Church-Slavonic show in comparison with the Greek and Latin, the assibilation of the *t* is so ancient that it can well have escaped the popular consciousness, and the *s* may have been subject to changes which other letters, similarly formed later, did not suffer. But even of the assimilation of such an *s* there is no certain example, and a theory which avoids this would deserve the preference, if no other difficulties stood in the way. Such a theory Roby seems to me to have proposed in his "Latin Grammar", p. LXI, according to which the superlative ending *umo* is added directly to the comparative stem, as in *plurimus*, and by a strong contraction is produced the superlative in use. So **miseriosimus*, **miserisimus*, **misersimus*, *miserrimus*.

We are not able to fix accurately the period when rhotacism in Latin was most active and when it ceased to work. The written records of the language contain many allusions to it, which are however mostly incidental and show only that the fact was well known to the Roman rhetoricians and grammarians. The instances of the retention of the *s* where the later usage shows *r* are extremely rare in the literature proper. With the exception of *arbos*, *colos*, *honos*, *labos*, and almost solitary instances of a few other words of like formation, absolutely no such forms are found in Latin literature. Our knowledge of

them is derived from citations by the grammarians, from occasional allusions in other writers, and from comparison with other forms in Latin itself and in kindred dialects and tongues.

The testimony of well-authenticated inscriptions would of course be the best possible, but even here it would have to be considered whether particular reasons had contributed to preserve the older form, after the ordinary speech had suffered the change. Of the two instances furnished us by inscriptions, one presents no difficulty. *Lases* is vouched for not only by this inscription, but by Varro and Festus as well. The song of the Arval Brothers, which is preserved to us in a copy of 218 A. D., is undoubtedly one of the oldest monuments of the language, and there is no difficulty in ascribing the song to the time before the Papirius or the Claudius to whom tradition ascribes the introduction of the *r*.

The word *viasieis* on the other hand, C. I. L. No. 200, is more difficult. The first syllable is conjectural, but there is no reason to doubt its correctness. This inscription contains fragments of an Agrarian law, the date of which is 111 B. C., a time, when, from all other indications the impulse to rhotacism had long ceased to operate. The orthography of the inscription is as a whole that of the Gracchi period, inclining indeed in some respects to the more modern system e. g. in most cases *publicus*, instead of *poplicus*. Coelius in a letter to Cicero, Ad Fam. 8, 6, 5, speaks of a *lex viaria*, an expression which it is natural to connect with the *viasieis* of the inscription, in which therefore rhotacism must have taken place in the sixty years between the inscription and the letter. But it is hard to believe that while *miser*, *asinus* and *nasus* remained unchanged, this one word alone should have been rhotacized, obeying a law which was in all other cases powerless. In the same connection is found in Coelius *alimentarium*, and the suffix

seems to be the same in both cases. Now-Corssen has shown, *Beitr.* p. 331 sq., that in many cases at least there is no reason for supposing that an *s* was ever present. Even the only example he gives of the suffix *asio* passing into *ario*, *Pinasius*, rests upon a conjecture of Müller, a probable one, indeed, but still a conjecture, and it would still be uncertain whether the suffix was the same as the frequent Latin suffix *ario*. The suffix *ario* is found in Plautus in *alearius*, *lapidarius*, *singularius* and others, in Cato in *articularius*, *molarius*, in Terence in *jocularius*, *palmarius*, and there seems to be no trace of an *s* in any of the manuscripts. In inscriptions of about the same time with the Agrarian law of 111 stand *advorsarium*, *arvorsario* (No. 198), *aerarium*, *aerario* (No. 197), *januarias* (No. 199), *vicarium*, *vicarios* (No. 202), and in this law itself *stipendiariis*. In no later inscription is *s* retained. Adjectives in *aris*, from which in some cases the corresponding words in *arius* have been derived (Corss. *Beitr.* p. 386), are also to be found in Plautus and the older writers. Festus cites many obsolete and rare words in *arius* and *aris* and it is surprising, if the *s* was still to be found in the older Latin, that Festus, who thought it necessary to explain *arbosem* and *pignosa*, made no mention of these still more remarkable rarities. It is not likely that the Umbrian suffix *asiu* is the same as the Latin *ario*. Rhotacism has gone farther in Umbrian than in Latin and the formation of the few Umbrian words which show this suffix is not entirely clear. *asiu* may correspond to the Latin *asio* in *amasius*, where the *s* having arisen from assibilation, did not suffer rhotacism. This suffix is not common in Latin, but is at least attested, and can very well be present in Umbrian, though stems corresponding to Latin stems in *nt* have not yet been pointed out there.

In view of these considerations, it is impossible to resist

the conclusion that *viasieis*, if not due to an error of the transcriber, which is hardly probable, considering the otherwise excellent orthography, is either, first, an instance of the retention in legal language of a form already obsolete in the popular speech. It is possible that provincial peculiarities may have contributed to this result also; for those persons entrusted with the care of the highways would find their chief employment in the country and in the neighborhood of the smaller villages, and it would be natural to designate them by a term already in use in such regions. Or, second, what seems to me a more probable supposition, that *viasieis* is another instance of a formation like *amasius*, from the present participle of *viare*, which was later used in the sense of *ire*; this must have been however a revival of a word long fallen into disuse (cf. Quint. VIII. 6. 33), and this meaning may have been an inference from *viator*; the notions *to go* and *to make one's way* are moreover often nearly synonymous in English. *Viarius* on the other hand is formed like *molarius*, *palmarius*, from the stem *via-*. With this agrees the fact that *viasieis* is substantively, *viarius* adjectively used.

The citations by Varro, Festus etc. are generally unaccompanied by definite statements as to the age of the examples brought forward, but there can be no doubt they were in most cases taken from authentic sources. Of course it is much more likely that old forms have been modernized than that newer forms have been archaized. So while we may suspect that some modern forms have usurped the place of older, there is less reason for doubting the genuineness of the rarer and more ancient words, especially when they proceed from so trustworthy and learned authorities as Varro and Verrius Flaccus. But all must have been taken from sources older than any inscription which we have, many no doubt from the ritual of the priests,

which was in actual use at a comparatively late period, and which preserved archaic forms and words long after they had vanished from the popular speech. Our oldest inscriptions contain such forms as *dedrot* (C. I. L. 173), *curia* (177), *aire* (181), *dederi* (177), *fourio* (63), *plourume*, *duonoro* (32), *honos* but *honore*, *quairatis* (34), *moribus*, *majorum*, *laetantur*, *generis* (47) etc. The „*Mamuri Veturi*“ of the Salii, Varro L. L. VI. 45 is perhaps incorrectly transcribed with *r* for *s*; we know at all events from Livy that *Vetusius* was written at a time probably long after the composition of the college of Salian priests. It can hardly be doubted that as far as concerns rhotacism the language had assumed its classical shape substantially, at the time of the first Punic war.

With this agrees what we learn from the other data furnished us by the literature. Cicero ad Fam. IX. 21. 2, says: “Post hunc (L. Pap. Mugillanus, censor) XIII fuerunt sella curuli ante L. Papirium Crassum, qui primum Papisius est vocari desitus; is dictator cum L. Papirio Cursore, magistro equitum, factus est post Romam conditam CCCCXV”. So Pomponius Dig. 1, § 36. says. “Idem Appius Claudius (who built the Appian way, censor CCCCXLI)R litteram invenit”. Of course if “Papirius” was written some twenty years before Appius’ censorship, Appius can hardly have *found* the letter *r*, but it may well be that he was the first to bring into general use in writing what had before been recognized only in the spoken language. Vid. Osann. *Comm.* ad Pomp. 1. 1. Orthography generally lags behind orthoepy, and if Appius first made general the use of written *r* for written *s* in certain classes of words, we can safely assume that for some indefinite time previously the orthography had not agreed with the pronunciation. According to Livy, III, 8, *Vetusius* was at least written CCXCI, and nothing prevents us from assuming that it was so spoken as

well. As long as the restraining influence of a recognized literature did not exist, orthography would remain nearer to the actual pronunciation, even if it did not represent it actually; on the other hand, for the same reason changes would take place much more rapidly, and one hundred years would probably suffice to bring about the change which we are discussing. But if this were the case, that rhotacism did its work in the comparatively late period between Veturius and Papirius, it would be difficult to account for the fact that no trace remains of the *s* of the passive and of the genitive plural, where the comparison of Sanskrit and other languages enables us to assert with greater or less confidence that *s* was once found. It can of course be mere accident that an example of each has not been preserved, just as the *s* of the infinitive is preserved to us only in the one form *dasi*, given by Festus, which could easily have been lost. But when we compare the Umbrian and Oscan passives, and the genitives in *arum* and *azum*, it seems more probable that here at least rhotacism was much older, perhaps even older than the separate existence of the Latin language. I should prefer therefore to consider the statements of Cicero and Pomponius as indicating a period at which we may assume that rhotacism had ceased to be so active an element in shaping the Latin language. The few instances of *s* in proper names in later inscriptions are due almost without doubt to an archaizing tendency, which in some cases shows itself as well in other ways.

In one class of words we are able to watch the completion of the process of rhotacism, viz: in the nominative singular of dissyllabic masculines with stems in *os*. Some of these words remained in good usage till Cicero's time with nominatives in *os*. *honos* occurs far more frequently in Cicero than *honor*, *arbos* is found often in poetry, *labos* in Sallust and Catullus,

colas and *odos* in Lucretius and Plautus, and other words are cited by grammarians, and *lepor* for *lepos*, though given in the lexicons, seems not to occur at all. cf. Neue I. p. 167. It is probable that many other examples could be given, if the manuscripts in every instance gave exactly the words of the authors, but as the later forms ended in every instance in *r*, the force of analogy may have brought it about that many nominatives in *s* as used by the authors, yielded in the manuscripts to those in *r*. There would be no apparent reason why a copier should change *labor* to *labos*, while the opposite error would be a natural one. It is impossible to say why a few words so retained the *s*, while the great mass so early changed it to *r*. It may perhaps be connected with a popular feeling that *arbos*, *labos* etc. were primitive words, not like *amos timos*, *pavos*, *clamos*, which are attested indeed, but only once each and not in the best age of the literature, derivatives from verbs in common use.

Rhotacism before voiced consonants and by assimilation to a preceding *r* can not be traced in the existing monuments of the language. *s* does not occur before *m*, *n*, *v*, in Latin words, while *r* is very common, and it is not unlikely that in some cases rhotacism has taken place. But the etymology and formation are often obscure, and nothing definite can be asserted, especially since in most instances where we can trace *s* with certainty before sonants it is dropped. cf. *qualum*, *remus*.

The combination *rs* in later Latin was regularly assimilated to *ss* instead of to *rr*; cf. *prossus*, *rusus*, *advosem* etc. There is no example of the reverse process in the sources to which we have access, and the proper name *Hirrutus* (Osann. *Comm.* Pomp. 1. 36) is either an entirely different word from the adjective *hirsutus* (cf. *hirrio*. Paul. Ep. p. 101), or is due to an error of the copyist.

Phonetically, the change of *s* to *r* is not difficult to explain, and must have been substantially the same in all languages. The sharp spirant *s* demands a greater precision and firmness in the position of the organs of speech than is necessary for the articulation of the movable trilled *r*. *s* is pronounced by sending the breath through a very narrow aperture formed between the tip of the tongue and the upper gum; a retraction and elevation of the tongue toward the palate, give the sound of *sh*; a projection against the teeth gives either *t* or *th*, according to the completeness of the contact. It will have been observed that rhotacism occurs in Latin chiefly between vowels and before or after flat or voiced consonants. Now a little negligence in sharply distinguishing between voiceless *s* and the voiced letter which precedes or follows, changes the sharp *s* to the flat *z*. This is justly assumed by Corss. *Ausspr.* I². 295, as the transition stage to *r*. If during the articulation of *z* the tongue is not held firmly but its tip is withdrawn and narrowed, the result is *r*, either the ordinary English *r*, which is articulated without trilling, or the *r* heard in some regions of the continent, where the tip of the tongue itself is set in motion. The *r* thus produced would in no case be the guttural *r*, such as is heard in Scotland and most continental countries. That this dental *r* was the ordinary Italian *r* can also be inferred from the well-known change of *d* to *r* in Latin and Umbrian. Vid. Corss. l. l. That such was the ordinary course of rhotacism can also be inferred from the forms still found in Oscan, such as *egmazum*, *poizad*, *censazet* etc. in Gothic, such as *thizos*, *aizis*, and in Umbrian, *menzaru* etc.

Though this would sufficiently account for all the cases of rhotacism in Latin, the actual course of things seems to have been different in one class of words. That final *s* could become *r* without the influence of analogy is plain from the Umbrian

and Greek; but it is surely no accident which restricts rhotacism of final *s* in Latin to those substantives whose oblique cases show a rhotacised *s*. Aside from this there is no trace of a tendency to rhotacism under such conditions, and it must be the analogy of the oblique cases which has brought it about here. This is confirmed by the fact that most neuters remain unaffected; there was no **temporem* in the accusative to induce a **tempor* in the nominative. It is also curious that in two of the four neuters where this change seems to have taken place, *femur* and *jecur*, there are two or more different stems for the oblique cases.

Assimilation need not be discussed particularly, but it may be remarked that the progressive assimilation presumed here, though contrary to the general usage of the Indo-European languages (Sievers, *Grundzüge*, p. 137), is not without example in Latin and Greek. Compare *velle* for *vel-se* and Gr. *πόρρω* for *πόρσω*.

It is universally recognized as a law of the language that *s*, standing between two vowels, is changed to *r*. How is it then, that we can hardly read a page of Latin without finding words where *s* stands between two vowels unchanged, in many words has so stood from the earliest time to which we can trace them? If the exceptions are so numerous, is it worth while to lay down the rule? Upon consideration however, we shall find that most of the exceptions can be classified under a few heads, which can be easily explained as not contradicting the law when properly stated.

(1). Foreign words.

We have seen above that the language had ceased to feel the impulse to rhotacism by the time of the first Punic war,

and that probably for a long period before this it was no longer felt as a shaping influence. There is no certain instance of a word borrowed early enough to be subjected to its influence, for *tus* followed Latin analogies in its declension, just as *mina* and *thesaurus* did, and probably such a form as **tuis* never existed. The greater number of foreign words was introduced after the fifth century, and as might be expected, they have preserved an *s* between two vowels unchanged. So from the Greek, *Ephesus*, *Anchises*, *philosophus*, *nausea* etc.; from the related Italian dialects, *Aesernia*, *Ausonia*; from the Keltic, *Esus*, *gaesum*, *omasum* etc. In most instances the foreign derivation is obvious; a few words where this is not so plain will be discussed below.

(2). Compounds.

When *s* is brought by composition between two vowels the compound nature of the word seemed to be present to the popular consciousness, and the *s* remained unchanged; *desino* no more became **derino* than *de sua* **de rua*. So with *prae-sideo*, *prosequor*, *reservo*, *trisulcus*, *odorisequus*, *vesanus*, *nisi*, etc. Gaussin (*Mémoires de la société de Ling.* I. 2. 128) points out a peculiarity in the pronunciation of French corresponding to this retention of *s* in compounds. Though *s* between two vowels has regularly the soft sound, in some compounds it is pronounced like initial *s*. Thus *présent* with soft *s*, but *préséance* with sharp. Similarly in English *presume* with soft *s*, but *presuppose* with sharp.

That this consciousness of the compound nature was the chief cause for the retention of the *s*, is indicated further by the fact that prepositions, though in pronunciation connected with the following word, are not joined with them in writing at all before the time of the Gracchi, and until late in the imperial times are in by far the great majority of cases written

as separate words. Corss. Aussp. II², 862. So also the no infrequent cases where the preposition of a compound is written separately, and the cases of tmesis in the poets, indicate the same thing.

Initial *s* never suffers rhotacism; we should expect then, if rhotacism takes place at all in compounds, to find it in such compounds as have final *s* in the first part. It is not difficult to understand how a final *s*, brought by composition before a vowel, should become *r*, for all the conditions are present under which rhotacism regularly takes place. It would be harder to understand how an initial *s* could be affected by a final vowel of a preceding word. For however words may have been divided in writing, in pronunciation it is hardly possible but that often the consonant was divided between the two syllables. That the Roman carefully divided *vi-ri* or *pu-e-ri-lis* is incredible. The fact that it is especially *between* two vowels that *s* suffers rhotacism, points to the same thing. Now it is not difficult to suppose that a final consonant is joined in pronunciation to the initial vowel following, forming practically a part of the initial syllable, a thing which occurs regularly in French and often in other languages, but that an initial consonant be joined to the final vowel preceding is contrary to all experience. These conclusions we find agreeing with the facts. The only cases of rhotacism in compounds are *dirimo* and *diribeo*, where *r* for *s* belongs to the first part of the compound. These two words, with *cisalpinus*, a comparatively late formation, and the ἀπαξ λεγόμενον, *dishiasco*, are the only instances of this combination. The *s* was preserved in the last case by the *h*, which was probably distinctly sounded; moreover the word was too seldom used to be subject to many changes; the *h* of *habeo* has disappeared in other compounds. cf. *praebeo*, *probeat*. Spite of Pott's etymology, which makes *disertus* a compound of *dis*

and the root of *ars*, (E F. I. 66. II. 92) the word does not belong here; for aside from the fact that we should expect an *r* according to analogy, (a desire to avoid two *rs* so near each other could have preserved the *s*), a much more satisfactory meaning is furnished by the ordinary derivation from *dis* and *sertus*. Compare the constant use of *dissero*, "to discourse", and *bisellium* for the short vowel and single *s*, and for the difference in treatment between *disertus* and *disseptus*, compare *comedo* and *coeo*, where *com* is treated similarly. The intensive force of *dis* moreover is at best rare, and is easily derived from its strict meaning, whereas in *disertus* from *dis* and *ars*, this is not easily done.

(3). In many words where a single *s* occurs between two vowels, it did not originally stand alone. This is shown in many cases by the older spelling, and in many others by indisputable etymologies. Here the consciousness of the omitted letter, which showed itself probably in a sharper pronunciation, preserved the *s* until the period when the danger from rhotacism was past. The perfects and supines of verbs with stems in *d* or *t*, often in the earlier Latin spelled with double *s*, have in the later period lost one of them. So *rasi*, *trusi*, *plausi*, *misi*, *ussus*, *casus*, *divisus*, *suasus* etc. So also *causa* was written by Cicero with double *s*. Vid. Quint. I. 7, 20.

The suffix *osus*, as in *formosus*, *odiosus* etc. has lost the letter; compare *formonsus*, *grammonsus*. Corss. I.² 254. Similarly the suffix *esimus* in the ordinal numbers is for *ensimus*. Corss. I.² 645. So in the suffix *ensis* the *n* often disappears, as *Albesia*, *Megalesia* etc. Lachmann restores *vensicula* for *vesicula* in Lucr. VI, 130, where the manuscript gives *vessicula*. Vid. Lachman *ad lc*. So *quasi* for **quamsi*.

These three classes of words embrace by far the greater number of exceptions to the general rule, and in most cases

the apparent anomaly can be explained easily by bringing it under one of these heads. There remain a few words however, which present greater difficulties, and these must be examined separately. Some words which belong only to postclassical Latin, as *amasio*, *camisia*, *salisatio* etc., can be disregarded, as being either borrowed or formed after a false analogy. Only those words concern us, which, either belonging to the original native stock, or having become thoroughly naturalized, show a single *s* at a period when rhotacism had accomplished its work. Words like *adasia* and *pesestas* therefore, attested by Festus, apparently belonging to the ritual of the augurs, do not need to be explained; if remaining in the popular speech at all, they may have suffered rhotacism, as indeed is certain in the case of *adasia*, if the form *adariarius* in Forcellini is correct.

casa. From the root *skad*, "to cover"; a participial form with the ordinary change of *t* to *s* **skadta*, **skassa*, **kassa*, *casa*. Corss. Beitr. p. 448. Curt. Gr. Et. n. 112.

fusus. From the root *spad*, "to twitch", "to move quickly"; with the ordinary assibilation and with aspiration of *p*, *fusus* for **spudtus*. Curt. Gr. Etym. pp. 247, 494.

caseus. From the root *skad*, "to cut into bits", comes the participle form **casus* for *skadtus*, lengthened by the suffix *eo*, *caseus*, that which is divided, separated. Compare *σχίζω γάλα*, "to curdle milk", in Dioscorides. *σχίζω* comes from another form of the same root.

quasillum. Evidently from the participle **quasus*. cf. *quatum* for **quasum*. From the root *kart*, "to split", with the usual assibilation and with labialization, **quarsus*, **quasus*, "the split or cloven thing". From **quasus* with the suffix *lo*, *quatum*, with the diminutive suffix, *quasillum*. By metonymy the

material gives the name to the thing made. Cf. *aëna*, “a copper vessel”.

vasa. From the same root, with dropping of the guttural. Compare *currus* and *verrere*, both from the root *karsh*. The older form *vasum* points to a dropping of the ending *um*, as in *nihilum*, *noenum*, after which the word passed into the 3rd declension in the singular. Corss. Ausp. II.² 594. The original meaning is that of a vessel for containing, which remained its chief meaning.

suasum. From the root *sward*, a lengthened form of *svar*, as seen in *sordes*, *swart*. *suasum* is therefore for **svarsum* Curt. Stud. V. 243 ff.

rosa. This word was borrowed from the Greek *ῥοδέα*, *ῥοδία*, with the same consonant changes as in *Claudius*, *Clausus*. Curt. Gr. Etym. n. 515. Hehn p. 516.

nasus. The ordinary view of this word is that it is connected with *naris*, Sk. *nāsa*, O-H-G. *nasa*. The formation is the same, the meaning the same, and the identification seems unavoidable. We have then in *nasus* a word of genuine Latin stamp and found in the earliest literature, retaining the *s* through all periods of the language, and, existing side by side with it, and from the same root, and found at least as early as Lucilius, *nares* which has nearly the same meaning, but has suffered rhotacism. Such an irregularity is in the highest degree surprising. We are justified in looking with distrust at a view which involves the disregard of a well-established law of the language, and in seeking for some other explanation in harmony with it.

It is possible that a partial reason for the retention of the *s* in this case is, that the distinction between *nostrils* and *nose* was thus preserved. The distinction is however hardly so important that of itself it had been sufficient to keep the *s*, when all others, similarly situated, were undergoing the change to *r*,

and indeed *nares* is often hardly to be distinguished from *nasus* in its use. The chief cause must rather be sought elsewhere.

Does the mere fact of similarity in structure and meaning compel us to regard two words as etymologically connected, when the one disregards a fixed law of the language? The answer is plain when we consider *udus* and *unda*, *fe-mina* and *fe-cundus*. In these words we have, it is true, other than phonetic reasons for denying the relationship; but if *ὑγρός* and *uk-shāmi* had been lost, who would have doubted the common origin of *unda* and *udus*? It is also true that it is very difficult to find a satisfactory etymology for *nasus*, but we have at least one indication that a consonant has disappeared before the *s* in the word *nassiterna*, used by Plautus, and explained by Festus. The manuscripts give the double *s*, which Scaliger would change to the single, to favor his etymology, *nasus, ternus*, "a watering pot with three noses", an etymology highly improbable. The connection with *nasus* however is most probable ("*calicem nasorum quattuor*" in Juvenal, and the corresponding use in modern languages), but the correct inference from that would be rather that *nasus* was formerly spelled with *ss*, than that *nassiterna* was spelled with *s*. We have, it is true, no other indications of the double *s* in *nasus*, but in other words, where it was certainly found, e. g. *casa*, *caesus*, there are also no traces in the manuscripts. Corssen I.³ 434, explains the *ss*, as in *caussa*, but the formation of *caussa* is not entirely clear and it is hard to see why *nasus* must receive another suffix before being fitted to represent the spout of a watering pot. The word is evidently of comparatively late formation, when *nasus* must have already reached its definite meaning *nose* whatever its original meaning.

I have thought with some hesitation of deriving *nasus* from an Indo-European root *nard*, "to produce a noise" "to sound",

preserved in the Sk. *nard*, "to cry", "to scream". *nasus* formed from this root like *suasum* from *sward*, would thus signify that organ through which the murmur of the breath is heard, or even if we call it "the snorer", the idea is not more laughable than that which the ordinary derivation calls up, according to which the nose is "the flowing organ". There is no reason to doubt that the primitive Indo-European snored, like his descendants of the present day, and that is a peculiarity at least as striking as the discharge which accompanies an influenza. That the hardy shepherd people from which sprung such a vigorous civilization, should have suffered from a perpetual cold in the head, so that the most prominent feature should have received its name from it, is hardly likely; that after their days of activity, they should have slept soundly and snored, is very probable.

If this be granted, the relationship between *nares* and Sk. *nāsa* will of course remain undisturbed, and we may still indulge, if we wish, in the pleasing task of picturing to our imagination our flowing-nosed ancestors. But I cannot help thinking that it is perhaps not quite so sure that we are justified by the facts before us in painting them so. That this peculiarity can give a name to the organ is proved by *snout*, German *Schnauze*. The Greek *μυκτήρ*, compared with Sk. *muṛk'āmi* and Lat. *mucus* and Ch-Sl. *mok-na-ti*, seems another instance of the same thing, as also *ῥῶθρον*, which however is used almost exclusively of the nostrils in the plural, where this designation is not so surprising. But the more examples are accumulated, the more ground there is for suspecting that some one of them is false. That the Indo-Europeans should have been so impressed by this one property of the nose, as to employ no other characteristic in giving it its name, is highly improbable. A simpler derivation would be from the root *an*, "to breathe", by

metathesis *na*, in accordance with which the nose would be designated as »the breather«. So as *ne-far-ius* from the root *bha*, would *nares* be derived from the root *na*, from which with equal ease the Sanskrit and German words could be derived. For the nature and process of the metathesis vid. Johannes Schmidt. Zt. XXIII.

miser. Here again the same difficulty presents itself as in *nasus*. In *maereo* we have an apparently related word, where however as *maestus* shows, rhotacism has taken place; but the cognate languages do not give us any similar formations to help or hinder a decision, and the agreement in meaning is not so precise as in *nasus* and *nares*, just as in general words with an abstract sense are harder to define precisely. It would perhaps be a sufficient reason for the retention of the *s* here, that by this means the accumulation of *rs* would be avoided, so unpleasant to a Roman ear. **mīrer* would be disagreeable, and a form like **mīrerorum* would be intolerable. It seems to me however that an additional reason can be found in the etymology. *miser* and *maereo* are indeed related, but are not to be derived immediately from the same form. The root *mīth*, lengthened from *mi*, has in Sanskrit the meaning among others "to do an injury"; this sense is given only in the catalogues of the grammarians, it is true, but as the simple root sometimes means "to injure", it is not at all improbable that the lengthened root should have the same sense sometimes. From *mīth*, with the usual changes and shortening of the vowel as in *casa*, **misa*, with the suffix *ro*, **miserus*, *miser*, that is, "one who has been injured". From another lengthened form of the same root, which appears in Sanskrit *mīsh* with the meaning "to fight against", but which appears in the cognate languages to have more nearly preserved the sense of the simple root, comes *maereo*, with vowel intensification and rho-

tacism. Both roots *mīh* and *mish* are found in Sanskrit, both are lengthened forms of *mi*, from them can be derived with strict observance of the phonetic laws and with a natural development of meaning, the Latin words, and I can see no reason therefore why *miser* should be regarded as any more singular in the retention of the *s* than *casa*. The meanings of *miser* and *maestus*, "wretched" and "sad", are dissimilar enough to make a difference in etymology not at all improbable, and similar enough to account for the instances where they are practically synonymous.

caesius. This word is rare and used only of the eyes, and is explained by the ancients as equivalent to *γλανκῶπις*. The earliest instance of its use is in Terence, Hec. 440, where Donatus explains it as "glaucis oculis, quasi felis oculos habens et glaucos". Both here and in Heaut. 1062, the *caesius oculus* is evidently regarded as a blemish. So in Lucr. IV. 1161, "Caesia Palladium, nervosa et lignea dorcas". Catullus 45,7, uses *caesius* of the lion, Vitruvius of the northern tribes. Its use in all these cases is widely different from that of *γλανκῶπις*, which is used almost exclusively of Athena, and in the sense of "gleaming eyed". In Cicero. N. D. I. 30. 83, the eyes of Minerva are said to be *caesii*, as those of Neptune *caerulei*, but Cicero has evidently in mind the representations of the gods by the Greek artists and poets, and uses *caesii* as a matter of course as the translation of *γλανκῶπις*. So Gellius explains the Latin by the Greek word and derives it from *caelum*, "quasi caelia" Gell. II. 26,19. Its actual usage is however much more nearly that of the Greek *γλανκός*, which also in the later Greek had the meaning "blue-gray", but which originally meant rather "gleaming", Curt. Gr. Etym. n. 133 b. That *caesius* too can hardly have signified color in its original sense, can be inferred from the superlative *caesissimus*, Varro

L. L. VIII, 39, 122; for though of some definite color like white (cf. *albissimum*, Varro l. l.) or green, comparison can with a certain justice be used, it is difficult to conceive of a superlative of so vague a hue as "bluish-gray".

Gellius was so far correct in his etymology, that *caesius* is related to *caelum*, if not derived from it. From the root *ku* "to be hollow", was formed the verb **cavere*; from the present participle was formed a noun stem **caventio-*, "having the characteristics of being hollow"; with disappearance of the *v* and assibilation, *caesius*. It is therefore the adjective to *caelum*, but derived not from *caelum* itself, but together with it from a common root. The specific meaning "bluish gray" can have arisen either through specialization of the general sense from an occasional color of the sky, or, which seems to me more probable, it can have followed the same course as *γλανκός*, having first acquired the meaning "glowing" from the brilliancy of the skies in the southern atmosphere.

indusium. From *induo*. The present participle stem, lengthened by the suffix *io* gives **induentio*, with assibilation and disappearance of *n* **induesio*, with assimilation of *e* to *i* of the following syllable, **induisio*, (Corss: Aussp. II.² 365), with contraction of *ui* to *u* *indusium*. The contraction of *ui* to *u* is certain in *anu*, *aspectu* etc., Gell. IV. 16, and is very probable in the middle of a word in *indutiae* for **induitiae*.

agāso. This word must be connected with *agere*, but cannot be derived directly from the Latin verb. It is rather to be derived from an obsolete denominative verb **agare* from **agus*. Cf. *στρατ-ηγός* *ἡγεῖσθαι*. From the present participle is derived *agasius*, as *amasius* from *amant-*, with the suffix *on*, and disappearance of the *i*, *agaso*. So *formosus* for **formontius*, **formonsius*, *formonsus*.

equiso. From stem *equit-*, the with suffix *io* through assib-

ilation, **equisso*, *equiso*. For the double *s*, cf. *odiossa*, quoted by Corssen *Beitr.* p. 480 from Marius Victorinus.

asilus. This is the Latin word for the gadfly and is derived from *ad* and *sed*, weakened from *sad*. The *d* of the preposition is assimilated and disappears as in *fusus*, *casus*, *astare*, *aspergo*, etc; the *a* remains short, like the *o* in *positus*. *ad* appears in composition with the same root in *assiduus*, where the *s* does not disappear; so *s* in *possidere* also remains. *asilus* is therefore "the sitting animal", which by alighting on the cattle, drives them to madness, cf. Verg. Georg. III. 148.

posui. The *s* of the simple verb, which, in consequence of the dropping of the *i* in the present, must also be dropped, *pono* for **posno*, **posino*, reappears as soon as the vocalization of the *v* permits it, and as the first letter of the second part of a compound does not suffer rhotacism. Moreover the final *r* of the preposition was assimilated to initial *s*, so that originally double *s* was pronounced. This protected the *s*, after the consciousness of the compound nature of the word had vanished. Corss. Aussp. I.² 420.

pusus. Very rare, perhaps found only in the epigram of Papinius, Varro L. L. VII. 28, but its derivatives *pusillus* and *pusio* are found in all periods of the language. The root is undoubtedly *pu* »to beget«, and the word is either formed from the simple root, like *caussa* from *sku*, for which *putus*, Verg. Catal. 9. 2 gives a starting point, or comes from the lengthened root *pus*, Sk. *push* »to nourish« like *haesus* from *haes*. The formation of *caussa* is not clear, and I should therefore prefer the latter supposition. For the difference in quantity between *pūsus* and *pūsillus*, compare *mōles* and *mōlestus*. Corss. Beit. p. 248.

pausa and *pusula* stand in the same relation to the roots *pau* and *spu* as *pusus* to *pu*.

quaeso. The *s* in this word has been preserved to distin-

guish it from *quaero*, which does not have the sense ›beg‹, ›beseech‹, the only meaning of *quaeso* in classical Latin. So *coitus* and *coetus* are distinguished from each other by different meanings, so *duellum* is found in ordinary prose only in the compound *perduellio*. The perfect and supine of the older form were transferred to the younger, after the tendency to rhotacism had ceased to operate, when *quaeso* was scarcely used except in the present tense and parenthetically.

basium. Not found earlier than Catullus. Compare Old-Eng. *basse*, Germ. *bus*, Prov. Germ. *busserl*, diminutive of *bus*, *bussen*, ›to kiss‹, Sw. *puss*, ›kiss‹, *pussa*, ›to kiss‹, Pol. *buzia*, ›to kiss‹, Ir. and Gael. *bus*, *pus*, ›lip, mouth‹, *bussog*, ›kiss‹, W. *bus* ›lip‹. It is hardly likely that this so widely spread word was borrowed from the Latin. It was rather borrowed from the Celts by the Romans, and possibly by the Celts from the Germans. The German words seem of genuine native stock.

pisum. From the Greek *πίσον*. Not found earlier than Columella, while the Greek word is found in Eupolis. On this account, and because the Romans in all probability received the plant from the Greeks, it seems to me more probable that it is borrowed than that it is formed from *pinso*. The proper name *Piso* on the other hand, found very early, is to be derived from the verb *pinso*, *pio*, formed like *comedo*, *combibo*. Curt. Gr. Etym. n 356 c. Hehn. p. 389.

asinus. This is generally regarded as of Semitic origin. cf. Heb. *athon*, ›the she-ass‹. With assibilation of the *t* and a Greek termination **ῶστος*. The name with the animal wandered to Italy, probably with the early colonists of Cumae. There through the difficulty which the Romans felt in pronouncing the combination *sn*, the word assumed its classical shape in Latin. Similarly an *i* was inserted before *r* in *mina*, *tecina*

etc. Corss. Aussp. II.² 262. From Italy to the Celts, Germans and Slaves. Benfey, Gr. Wurzellexicon, I. 123. Hehn. Culturpf. pp. 114. 502. This certainly corresponds with the probable history of the ass, and there are no special difficulties in the way of accepting it. There would be ample time for the ass to become familiar to the Italians in the time between 400 B. C., when, as we have seen, rhotacism may be presumed to have spent its force, and the time of the elder Cato, when the ass was in general use on the Roman estates. That the ass came into the peninsula with the first entrance of the Italian race, as Hehn conjectures, seems to me improbable, for the ass in its further progress at least followed the cultivation of wine and oil, and Hehn has shown that wine and oil were introduced into Italy subsequently to the original settlement by the Italian race.

Caesar, caesaries. That these words belonged to the older language, is shown both by the early appearance of the proper name in history, and by the declension of *caesaries*, which presupposes a **caesarias*. Corss. Aussp. II.² 348 f. They are evidently related to Sk. *kesara*, *keçara*, of which the etymology is not clear. Both Sanskrit forms are well attested, but the Latin word makes it probable that the form with *s* is the original. Initial *ç* in Sanskrit sometimes represents original *s*, Curt. Gr. Etym. n. 20. Sk. *çvaçuras*, Lat. *socer*, and with this agrees Bopp's explanation of *kesara* as a compound; but it is impossible to derive the Latin *sar* from the root *ki*, from which he derives *çara*. If a compound at all, it is perhaps rather to be connected with the root *svar*, 'to shine', in accordance with which the hair would be the glory of the head. The Latin usage of *caesaries* agrees with this etymology, for in Latin the word has generally the meaning of something ornamental, beautiful. But however this may be, the *s*

could not have been retained on account of the compound nature of the word. Even if it was originally a compound, the consciousness of this fact must early have faded away, and if there were no other hindrances, the *s* would have been rhotacised. A variety of causes contributed to preserve the *s* into the classical period. Rhotacism would have caused the accumulation of *rs* so unpleasant to a Roman ear, and the popular etymology connected it with *caesus* and with *Kaeso*, which I connect with *caesus*. An indication of this is preserved in Nonius p. 556. M. »Caesaries dicti qui caesa matre nascuntur«, and in Pliny 7. 9. 7, »a caeso matris utero«. The suffix *ar* however renders this derivation improbable, and indeed Festus, p. 44, reverses the process, and derives *Caesar* from *caesaries*. Nonius' and Pliny's derivation is only another instance of the so frequent invention of a story to explain a word.

There are besides a number of words, as *asio*, *pausea*, *Drusus*, *immusulus*, *resina*, *cisium* etc., which show a single *s*. The origin of most of them is obscure, but there is nothing to prevent us from supposing that they could be brought under one of the classes of exceptions mentioned above. The *dr* of *Drusus* points to a foreign origin; the double *s* of *immusulus* in some manuscripts, points to a lost consonant; *ῥητινῆ* was probably the origin of *resina*, and so with others.

B. Falerian.

The remains of this dialect are too meager to enable us to discover its relations to the question of rhotacism. In *Abelese* and *Plenese* the *s* seems to be the same as in *Megalesia*, *Alb-eses* in Latin, where its retention is due to the *n* which has disappeared; in *Cesula*, the *s* may be the same as in *caesus* cf. *Caesellia*, but these can be only conjectures. The near

relationship to Latin would lead us to suppose that here also rhotacism would take place, but we have no certain evidence of it. That the *z* of *zenatuo*, *Zertanea* represents the weak sound of *s* which we have seen was the first step towards rhotacism, is highly improbable; rhotacism of initial *s* is unknown in the Indo-European languages.

C. Oscan.

The Oscan, in agreement with the conservative character of the people, is in most points more archaic than the Latin, so also in regard to rhotacism. *s* occurs constantly between two vowels; so *aasas*, *fluusai*, the future endings *sidi*, *set*, the suffix *asius* etc.

The only example is the *r* of the passive, and this must stand or fall with the ordinary theory of the origin of the passive. See above p. 9. Examples are *sakarater* = *sacratur*, *comparascuster* = *comparata erit*. The start towards rhotacism seems to have been made in the weakening of *s* to *z*. So *azum* the ending of the genitive plural. cf. Sk. *sām*, Lat. *arum*; *-azet*, cf. *fusið*, Gr. *-άσει*; *eizac* cf. *eisak* etc. It is worthy of note that the older inscriptions in the Oscan alphabet show the *s*, the younger in the Latin alphabet the *z*. It must not however be thence inferred that the change of *s* to *z* is due to Roman influence. At the end of the second Punic war, which is about the period of the treaty between Nola and Abella, in which *z* is not found, rhotacism had practically finished its work in the Latin language, and intercourse with the Romans could at most have hastened the development of a tendency already present. We could perhaps trace its full development if the language had survived.

Other possible instances are very few and at the best uncertain. *hafiert* seems to be incorrectly written for **hapiest*, Kirchhoff, *Stadtrecht* etc. p. 43. The *r* can not be due to Roman influence at least; none of the Indo-European languages shows rhotacism in this form of the substantive verb, and no other instance occurs in Oscan of *r* in this ending, while numerous forms in *st* are found. So also other manifest errors occur in the Oscan side of this table, *docud* for *dolud*, *fepacid* for *fefacid*. Mommsen *U. D.* p. 152.

One inscription contains the name *niumeriis*, probably another form of *niumsis*, *niumsieis*. The *r* can only be due to Roman influence, which is in this instance not improbable. The name *Numerius* in the Fabian gens, where the *s* was early rhotacized in Rome, must have been known to the Samnites, and it is therefore not necessary on this account alone to assume that the inscription is very young; it could have been engraved indeed by a Roman artist, to whom perhaps the statue of Pallas can also be attributed. Mommsen *U. D.* p. 282.

For *amfr.* see above p. 14. *Aurunk* is probably dialectic and local. Bugge. *Stud.* IV. 351.

D. Sabellian.

The only example of rhotacism in this dialect is the passive sign *r. ferenter* = *feruntur*. Corssen *Zt.* IV. 139. *s* between two vowels occurs constantly, where in many cases the corresponding Latin word shows *r*. So *fasena* = *arena*, *asum* = *ara*, *esuc*, cf *erim*, *flusare* = *florali*.

Most of the Sabellian inscriptions are very old, but even the latest of them show no such trace of a tendency to rhotacism as is furnished by Oscan *z*. So the very latest, which Corssen sets about at the same period as the decree *de Bac-*

chanalibus, contains the form *flusare*, preserving the *s* unchanged between two vowels.

E. Umbrian.

In accordance with the generally younger character of the Umbrian, whose decay from its primitive condition must have been much more rapid than that of the Latin, rhotacism has in general gone much farther here. The early contact of the Umbrians with the Etruscans may have hastened this result, in so far as much intercourse with those who speak another language tends to destroy those influences which keep a language within its old barriers.

(1). *s* between two vowels regularly suffers rhotacism as in Latin. So from the root *as* comes the infinitive *erom*. The same root employed in the formation of the different tenses suffers rhotacism under the same circumstances, *benust* but *benurent*. The ending of the genitive plural is *arum* as in Latin, in Oscan *azum*, cf. Sk. *sām*. The compound pronominal stem seen in Oscan *eisak*, Sk. *esha* appears rhotacised in Umbrian *erir*, *erir* etc., as well as in Latin *erim*.

The Umbrian is however not so consistent as Latin. In *benuso*, *covortuso* the *s* remains, but can perhaps be explained, (Bréal. *Les Tab. Eug.* p. 361); so also in *asa*, Latin *ara*. Aufrecht p. 103, holds that *s* belonging to the root remained unchanged, but *erom* would in that case be *esom*. It is not certain that the *s* belongs to the root in any of the words where it stands between two vowels, except the two words cited above, while in many it can be proved that a consonant has been lost. *aseriato* has the related form *anseriato*, *Fisiu* but also *Fissiu*, *frosetom* cf. Lat. *frausus*, *eso* but also *essu*. *eesona* is not clear but Corssen's supposition, I². 378, which connects it with the Sabine

aisos, is most probable. In that case it may be a borrowed word, as is true of some of the proper names. In *ooserclome*, which according to Bréal, p. 49, = Latin **aviservaculum* the *s* is the initial letter of the second part of a compound. It is possible that the retention of the *s* in *asa* is connected with the length of the original root vowel; at all events the cause can not lie simply in its being a root consonant.

The passive sign *r* is also found in Umbrian, as in Latin and Oscan. *emantur* = Lat. *emantur*, *terkantur* = *tergeantur*.

(2). Final *s* of certain inflections becomes *r*. So in the nominative singular of stems in *io*: in the genitive singular of stems in *a*, *o*, *i*, *u*; in the nominative, dative and ablative plural of stems in *a*, *o*, *i*. This occurs without exception in the later tables with Latin letters, and is found in a few cases in the older tables with Etruscan letters. Examples are *Atiersir*, *ivengar*, *privatur*, *pacrer*; *totar*, *popler*, *ocrer*, *trisor*; *dequrier*, *Atiersir*. Cf. Bréal. p. 336. This is not in the least analogous to those cases in Latin where final *s* becomes *r*. There, as we have seen, rhotacism was due to the analogy of the oblique cases acting upon the final *s* of the nominative; here the final *s* of the oblique cases changes to *r* itself without any such external cause. It is impossible to say why stems in *a* and *o* were more affected than others: we only call attention to the fact that it is just these stems in Latin which differ most in their declension from the original Indo-European forms.

In *Fesnere* we have according to Bréal p. 337 an example of the rhotacism of final *s* before the initial vowel of an enclitic, where according to him it regularly occurs. The other examples he gives of this kind of rhotacism however do not substantiate this view. *erek*, *pure*, *erarunt* etc. could be regarded and treated as simple words, like *hicco*, *idem*, in Latin, and if this were the case, *s* would follow the general rule in becoming *r*

between two vowels. But it is more probable that we have here examples of the rhotacism of final *s*, which had already begun when the tables in Etruscan letters were written. cf. *plenasier*, *kluviier*, *çersnatur*. If the two forms in *r* and *s* existed side by side, it would be more in agreement with the tendencies of the language to append the enclitic to the form in *r*. The forms of the pronoun in *r* are regularly used in the later tables, and nothing prevents us from assuming that in *crek* and *erarunt* the enclitics were appended to the already rhotacised forms. In the same way *Fesnere* can be the rhotacised form of the dative plural with the appended *e*.

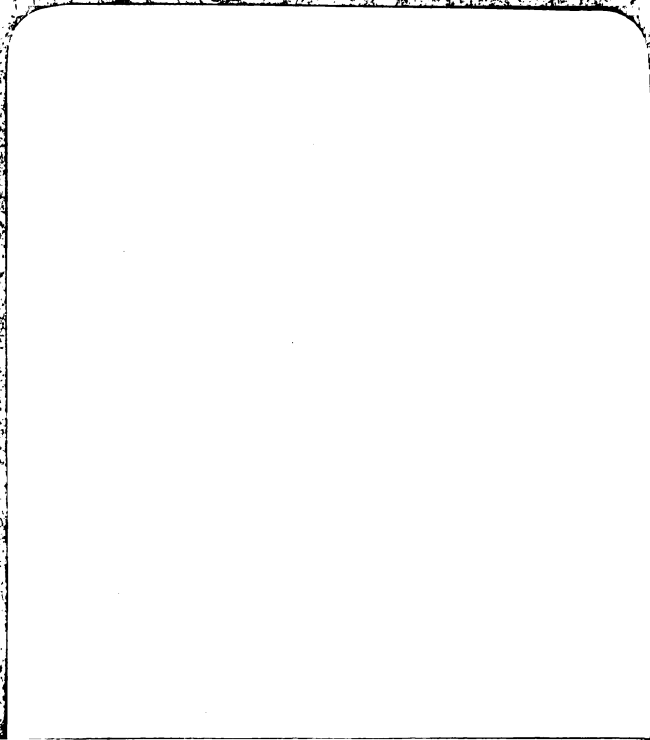
In this way can be explained the exceptions to Bréal's rule. *pisi* and *pisher*. Though the pronoun *pis* appears as *pir* in the later tables, once, VI, 53, it retains the *s*, and that too before a word beginning with a vowel. In these cases then, the enclitic was appended to the older form and rhotacism did not take place. So *seso*, if rightly explained by Bréal as containing the enclitic *hont*, supports this view; there is no trace of rhotacism in the *s* of the reflexive pronoun, and rhotacism is not occasioned by the appended enclitic.

The forms of the verb where *s* is final are too few to enable us to come to a satisfactory conclusion, if those forms are disregarded where *s* becomes final by the dropping of final *t*. In three cases *sis* becomes *sir*, twice before a pause, once before a vowel; *ferar* is doubtful, *herter* is explained by Bréal as passive. On the other hand, *sis* is also found, and *heris* = *vis*. There is in itself nothing surprising in the final *s* of the substantive verb being rhotacised, but material is wanting for thorough investigation.

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